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GREATER INDIA

By

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GREATER INDIA

A STUDY IN INDIAN INTERNATIONALISM

INDIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS HISTORY

India enjoys the precarious privilege of possessing no systematic history well defined by Time and Space. She has passed, like every other country, through all the phases of historical evolution—sociological and religious, intellectual and political; yet with a peculiar obstinacy India has hitherto refused to develop a hierarchy of orthodox historians and a consistent tradition of national history. No doubt she has acknowledged from very ancient times the value of chronicles (Itihasa-Purana) as an intellectual discipline, yet such compositions have remained, down to the appearance of the Muhammadan historians, as subsidiary to her proverbially rich contributions to Religion and Ethics.

To Western scholars, trained in methods of precision applied to the intensive study of national histories, the apparent apathy towards the preservation of what they call "national glories" seems not only to be a little disconcerting but even derogatory to the prestige of the Indians as an intellectual people. Diagnosis of this peculiar malady led to the development of diverse theories: lack of political cohesion and comprehension of national solidarity, oriental fatalism and obsession of hereafterism—all seemed to have combined to weaken the Hindu faculty of precision and thereby sap the foundation of historical science in India. The present dégradation of India was considered to be the cumulative effect of these national perversities and well-wishers of India, both outside and inside, have sought to cure it by reconstructing her history on a national basis.

Without discounting the value of possessing a systematic national history or disputing India's poverty in that department of literature, one may still plead that the judgment

passed on the Indian people from that stand point is nevertheless superficial and unjust. A people that could evolve at least forty centuries ago, the earliest collection of human lyrics in the form of the Vedic Hymns, may be credited with a certain amount of creative imagination. A people that could present to the world about 2,500 years ago a scientific treatise on grammar like that of Panini may aspire to a certain amount of analytical power and capacity for system-building. A people that could perpetuate through millenniums, the traditions of its religious, social and intellectual life—not through writing but by a phenomenal memory, may claim to possess some sort of instinct for precision and preservation. So it still remains a problem why such a people did not develop a tradition of national history in the special sense of our days. This is a paradox which has not been explained by condescending theorists of the historical school.

It may not be an improbable hypothesis that the Hindus somehow felt history, with its interminable details of wars and treaties, of triumphs and dissolutions, as a poor portraiture of the real national life and a very unsatisfactory and imperfect reflection of its creative activities. They boldly challenged the validity of the *world of phenomena* and tried to discover the *world of permanence* immutable beyond all phenomena. Revulsion from things transient and temporal produced almost an obsession of the Absolute and the Eternal. Thus India neglected History and developed Philosophy ; or rather, she considered the quest of the spirit for the Eternal Verity as the real history of Humanity.

cf. Nag : The Humanisation of History, Modern Review, Feb. 1923). Thus whilst her next door neighbour China was (quietly) laying the foundation of early science and inventions ; while Babylonia was developing the earliest astronomy and legal code ;, while Egypt was composing her "Book of the Dead" and was trying to triumph over Death by her titanic architecture,—India was quietly scaling the supernal heights of Human Philosophy—the Himalayas of Thought—and was filling the world with the reverberations of profound questions about Existence and Non-existence,

**Death and Immortality—fundamental problems of human life
—through the Vedic Hymns :—**

There was not the Non-existent nor the Existent then,
There was not the air nor the heaven which is beyond,
What did it contain ? Where ? In whose protection ?
Was there water, unfathomable, profound ?
There was not Death nor Immortality then,
There was not the beacen of Night nor of Day,
That one breathed, windless, by its own power
Other than *That* there was not anything beyond.

Rigveda IV. i. 112.

Descending from the heights of primitive speculation when India was confronted with the problems of complex life, in and through the expansion of her Society, she subordinated *Economics* to her science of Equity and Jurisprudence and *Politics* to her science of Ethics. Thus she developed her *Dharma-sastra* and *Raja-dharma* with *Dharma*, the Eternal as the mainstay of her secular history. This obsession of the Eternal in her temporal life has its counterpart in the obsession of the Universal in her national history and that of the Formless in her æsthetic discipline, 'creating mystic forms and symbolic art-languages. So Hindu apathy towards History is the effect of a malady that is deeper than the diagnosis of our modern historians. It is a triple complex which some future psycho-analyst may analyse to satisfy our curiosity ! Meanwhile I beg leave to trace the influence of the Universal on the history of India, to indicate the landmarks of Internationalism in her national evolution and to point out, by suggestions and implications if possible, the specific contributions of India to the development of International History. In an age wherein international hatred threatens unfortunately to be the order of the day, such a study may not be without profit, not simply for the transvaluation of historical values but for ascertaining the warning-gesture of the profound Past to our muddling Present.

I. RETROSPECT ACROSS THE FIRST MILLENNIUM :

(CIRCA 1400-500 B.C.)

EXPLOSION OF THE "SPLENDID ISOLATION" THEORY.

The first fiction and unfortunately the most tenacious fiction of Indian History is the glaringly unhistorical hypothesis that India grew up in "splendid isolation." For the fabrication of this fiction we have to be thankful as much to the narrow outlook of late Hindu orthodoxy as to the erroneous picture of primitive Indian society drawn by the early school of occidental philologists. While acknowledging fully the value of the works of these scholars in the decipherment of the ancient texts, we cannot forget that the outlook of these new types of *Pundits* were generally limited by those very texts which engrossed their attention. Thus frequently too much emphasis was laid on particular aspects of Indian life as suggested by some special terms or words, and too little regard paid to the general historical evolution. Words are valuable as landmarks in the progress of society, but for that very reason they are but *static symbols* of the ever-changing and ever-expanding life. So the picture of caste-ridden India, cut off from the rest of the world by the external barriers of the Ocean and the Himalayas, as well as by the internal prohibitions of a morbid, all-excluding cult of purity, India ever chanting Vedic hymns or celebrating occult sacrifices, weaving transcendental philosophies or absurd reactionary principles of life,—this fancy picture of India fades away as soon as we view it from the vantage ground of History.

VEDIC GODS IN WESTERN ASIA

Truth is not only stranger but thousand times stronger than fiction. The chance stroke of the spade of an archæologist makes short work of heaps of scholarly theories. So the discovery of the inscription of Boghaz Keui in 1907 by the German archæologist Hugo Winckler led to the explosion of the "Isolation" theory and expanded to an unexpected extent

the horizon of Indian history. Here, for the first time, we read the startling fact that in far off Cappadocia, in the fourteenth century B. C., two belligerent tribes, the Hittites and the Mitannis, invoking the Vedic Gods, Mitra, Varuna and Indra, while concluding a treaty ; moreover, the special twin-gods, Nasatyas were invoked to bless the new marriage-alliance concluded between the two royal families. (Cf. Dr. Sten Konow: The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni People, Modern Review, Dec. 1921 pp 683-684).

INDIA'S SYMBOLIC ROLE: THE PEACE-MAKER OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Thus, by a curious coincidence, this first concrete document in the history of Indian internationalism, represents the Indian gods as the peace-makers and harmonisers of conflicting interests ; and as such, we consider the Boghaz Keui inscription, not only as a landmark in Asiatic history but also as a symbol of India's role in the development of internationalism through *peace* and *spiritual unity*. This is, as we shall try to show, quite different from the *economic internationalism* of exploitation (e. g., Phœnician) or the *imperialistic internationalism* of compulsion (e.g., Assyrian and Roman). We cannot forget that when the Indian gods appear for the first time in their symbolic role of Peace-makers in Cappadocia, Egypt is proudly proclaiming her world-conquests through the famous Victory Ode of Thutmosis III, cataloguing with sublime egotism the vanquished nations and countries. Further westwards, we hear about the same time (1500 B . C.), the Achæans thundering on the ramparts of the Aegian capital Knossos (Crete), the collapse of the Minoan hegemony in the Mediterranean and the peaceful penetration of the crafty Phœnicians connecting the East and the West with a subtle tie of economic exploitation. The Achæan ascendancy, already weakened by the fateful Trojan war (1200 B.C.) as well as the Phœnician commercial empire began to give way before the onrush of the virile Dorians who, with iron weapons, inaugurated the Iron Age in Europe (1000 B.C.), vanquishing their predecessors of the Bronze Age; while in Asia the Assyrians played the same role as that of

the Dorians, pulverising the decadent nations with superior military organisation and efficiency.

ARYO-NON-ARYAN COMPROMISE

What was happening in India in that epoch of transition from, the pre-classical to the classical period of Western history with its interlude of the Epic Age, we have no definite political records to ascertain. But we have invaluable literary documents to attest the rapid development of Indian life and thought. From the Rigveda (the earliest literary monument, if not of humanity, at least of the Indo-European people) to the earliest *Brahmanas* (1000 'B. C.), Indian life had traversed quite a long path of sociological evolution. The Vedic Aryans were confronted with the same problem, presented to the Egyptians and the Assyrians, the Achæans and the Dorians,—of an autochthonous people barring the way of a more virile expanding power. And herein lies the originality of the Indian Aryans, that they solved the problem in the only lasting manner possible---by recognising the title of their rivals *to exist*, not merely as enemies but as collaborators in the building of a civilisation which we may call to-day as much Aryan as non-Aryan (Indo-Mesopotamian or Dravidian as we like. Cf. my note on the "Aryo-Dravidian Compromise," *Modern Review*, January, 1922 pp 31-33).

The Vedic literature being essentially sacerdotal, records but poorly this march of India along the path of historical synthesis. Yet we get glimpses of the complexity of the picture here and there, the background is already polychrome; the crowding of the canvas is already Epic. From the very beginning we notice the *white* Aryans engaged in tussle with the *dark* aborigines. Surely, the social and political problems thus raised were not removed by the simple utterance of *Vedic Mantras*. There were occasional conflicts and outbursts of cruelties. The path was often red with "blood and iron." The atmosphere was often dark with horror and the Vedic poets seemed to have given vent to their feeling of suspense and agony during those awful nights, in their

semi-symbolical hymn to Ushas, the goddess of Dawn to be born in the womb of primeval Darkness :

"Arise ! the breath, the life again has reached us !
 Darkness has gone away and Light is coming.
 She leaves a path for the sun to travel,
 We have arrived where men *prolong existence* !"—
 Rigveda V. i. 113.

INDIAN PRINCIPLE OF "LIVE-AND-LET-LIVE"

Yes, the aim of the Indian Aryans was to prolong existence not to extinguish it. And long before the formulation of the doctrine of *Ahimsa* (non-injury) by Mahavira and the Buddha, India demonstrated her *profound respect for life* by realising that in her early history. The Aryo-Dravidian synthesis will ever remain as the first and the foremost glory in her career of international amalgamation. Two nations, quite different in race, language and culture were fused to give birth to a virile stock of people and to lay the foundations of a great civilisation.

IDEALS OF "WORLD-CONQUEST" IN THE EPICS

Needless to say that this was achieved through many conflicts and catastrophies which prepared the way for the Indian *Epic Age* with its formulation of the principles of *world power* and *world-empire* (though the geography of that world was singularly different from our own). Hence in the later Vedic literature as well as in the *Brahmanas*, we read frequently of *Samrajyas* (vast empires) and *Sarva-bhauimas* (great emperors). From that doctrine it is an easy and normal transition to the concepts of *Digvijaya* (conquest of world-quarters) and that of *Raja-chakravartin* (super-sovereign of the diplomatic circle). That naturally brought in its train, wars on an epic scale, and martial ballads came to be composed by contemporary bards and minstrels. And just as Homers and pseudo-Homers appeared several centuries after the Trojan war to give epic form to the floating legends and ballads, so the actual great epics of India, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were composed by our Valmikis and

Vyasas, many centuries after the traditional wars between Rama and Ravana or between the Pandavas and the Kauravas.

WAR AS A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT—ITS LESSONS

So, whilst the Vedic age was a period of tribal warfare and unconscious fusion of tribes and races, the Epic age was a period of strife between more extensively organised kingdoms and empires, striving after suzerain power. In this epoch the old principle of *amalgamation* underwent its hardest test. In both the Epics, we read a great deal about war, but in none of them we miss the *lessons of war* as they were imprinted on the heart of the ancient Hindus; the ultimate victory is always on the side of the righteous and even then, victory in a game like war is too much like defeat! That shows clearly that even in the process of testing the principle of concord and amalgamation, in the very act of experimenting with a new method of discord and dissolution, Indian mind was wide awake and open to conviction. Hence the poet of the *Ramayana* makes the victor Rama stand humbly by the side of his dying enemy to have his parting advice. Hence also, in the *Mahabharata*, we find the triumphant Yudhishthira sitting at the feet of the dying hero Bhishma, to listen to the Canto of Peace as the only fitting conclusion to an War Epic. Thus, confronting the actualities of war as a sociological experiment, its terrible consequences and tragic legacies, Indian mind pronounced its verdict on war through the formulation of new doctrines later on embodied in systematic treatises like the *Santiparvan* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. This sanity and this self-knowledge are really admirable. India tried the path of "blood and iron" and shuddered back in horror and disgust. No doubt one school of thought continued to refine the philosophy of mutual suspicion and of the inevitability of war as a means of aggrandisement, and thus gave rise to the science of *Sadgunya* (sextuple methods of Diplomacy) culminating in the atomistic politics of the *mandala* of the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya which dominated the political

thoughts of India in her periods of disintegration (Nag : *Les Theories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthasastra*, pp. 115). Another school attempted to explain away the war philosophically, by transforming local war into an allegory of cosmic war, thus giving rise to the grand philosophical poem of the *Bhagavad Gita*. While a third school candidly preached Peace to be the only true sublimation of War and thus gave us the famous Santiparvan (the Canto of Peace).

EMERGENCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF UNIVERSAL TOLERANCE AND AMITY

The soul of India seemed to have been undergoing a travail for New Birth. The atmosphere was surcharged with a new agony and a terrific gloom which reminded us very much of the age of the Vedic groping in the dark. Suffocating under that atmosphere of narrow egotism and shocking carnage, one section of the Indian mind sought and found liberation in the serene region of emancipated individualism (the gravitation of the Hindu mind) and cried out through the deathless voices of the sages of the Upanishads, the message of this fresh Revelation :—

"Listen to me, O ye children of immortality...I have come to know the Great Person, like the Sun, beyond the darkness !"

This solemn call was sent to the whole universe (*Visva*), for it was the result of the realisation of Him who is the All-feeling one (*Sarvanubhuh*). And this new aspiration did not remain a mere ecstatic dream but soon became flesh in an actual *Purusha*, a historical personality, the Buddha, whom India created out of the depth of her universal Charity. Truth that was burning in the heart of India became incarnate. Dispelling with the radiance of Divine Amity, the dark smokes arising out of the bloody altars of sacrifice, both sacerdotal and political, Buddha proclaimed the sublime paradox that *to gain all one must give all*, to avoid suffering one must eradicate the all-devouring Ego, the root of all suffering, and that real illumination is in the quenching of the flames of passion (*Nirvana*).

THE AGE OF THE BUDDHA AND THE SOUL OF ASIA

Political history of Humanity is full of absurd gaps, stupid silences and illogical *lacuna*. That is why we cannot explain satisfactorily the real significance of such grand historical revelations. But the history of human thought expresses itself by suggestions probably too subtle for our chronological apparatus. The unerring universalism of the Upanishadas, the divine cosmopolitanism of the Buddha, surely proceeded from some *super-historical*, if not historical need of Humanity. That is why, towards the end of our First millennium (circa 1400-500 B. C.), we find the Buddha dedicating himself to Humanity; Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, preaching *Ahimsa* (non-injury) as the noblest principle of religion; that in dark days of the Chow dynasty of China, Lao-tse and Confucius (500-478 B. C.) evolving respectively their grand systems: the Tao-kiao (School of the Way) and Ju-kiao (School of the Knowers), emphasizing the same principles of life—non-interference, suppression of ego, and purification of heart. So also in the land of the Iranian cousins of the Indians, the reformation of faith had been started a little earlier by Zoroaster; and now we are startled to read for the first time in an imperial autobiography on stone—in the famous Behistun and Nakshi Rostam inscriptions of Darius the great (550-485 B.C.) :—

"Days Darius the King : for this reason Ahuramazda bore me aid, and the other gods which are, because I was not an enemy, I was not a deceiver, I was not a despot....."

The last words of the Emperor of Asia were equally significant for the age :—

"O man, what (are) the commands of Ahuramazda, may he make them revealed to thee—do not err, do not leave the right path, do not sin....."

II. RETROSPECT ACROSS THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (CIRCA 500 B.C.—500 A.D.)

India, the pioneer in practical Internationalism.

"....*rastam ma avarada ma starava*"—right (path)
relinquisheth not, do not sin—these are the last words of

the greatest figure in world politics towards the end of our millennium. They signalled a new departure in the history of the epoch we are going to survey. The Persian empire under Darius the Great, touching India on the one side and Greece on the other, marked the apogee of the history of antiquity and the connecting watershed of the streams of the Ancient and the Modern history. It awakened the lyre of the first tragedian of Hellas, Æschylus fighting in the field of Marathon (490 B. C.) and composing his drama, "The Persians." It evoked also the genius of Herodotus, the father of European history. Pursuing the age-old method of pulverisation, Persia battered at the decaying fabrics of ancient empires of Egypt and Mesopotamia and they tumbled down like houses of cards. So the Achemenian art under Darius represented in traditional style the throne of the world-emperor carried by long rows of vanquished sovereigns. At the same time the traditional political legacy of the *dream of world-empire* hypnotised Greece, the first rival of Persia in Europe. From Greece the chronic infection contaminated Rome. Greece checked the military advance of Persia but had neither the political sagacity nor the spiritual insight to arrest the disintegrating politics of antiquity, represented in its last phase by the Persian imperialism. The Peloponnesian war destroyed miserably the noble prospect of consolidation opened by the Confederacy of Delos. Hellas, and with her Europe, preferred the fateful path of empire-building. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, all attempted by turn, till at last Alexander of Macedon succeeded in traversing the same path of conquest from Greece to India. What appears as a splendid turning of the table on Persia is really an ephemeral imitation of the Persian emperors; and Persian influence on Alexander is acknowledged by all, for it was highly resented by his hellenic compatriots. World-empire may be a new ideal with the occident but it is a dangerously old institution of antiquity. In spite of the unmistakable warning of ancient history as to the inevitable self-disintegration of such gigantic edifices resting on the precarious foundation of *force*, Greece under Alexander

and Rome under her republican proto-cæsars and imperial cæsars, attempted the dangerous experiment, met with the usual tragic disaster and, even in the very failure, left the fateful legacy of empire-building to 'all' of their "Barbarian" successors who are struggling down to 'this day, with varying degrees of success and permanency, with the same impossible, antiquated experiment of antiquity—of building a world-empire—a machinery of gain for a *few* at the sacrifice of the *many*, based on the quick-sand of selfishness and propelled by the inhuman energy of brute force.

With phenomenal originality, nay with divine inspiration, India under Asoka the Great (273-242 B. C.) suddenly developed an ideal of *Empire of Peace and Progress* for all. Within 250 years of the appearance of the great Buddha, India produced another historic personality. *Dharmasoka* not only contradicted with an unparalleled historical sagacity, the entire politics of antiquity up to his age, but also, like a Spiritual Columbus, discovered a new world of constructive politics which unfortunately, remains as yet only an aspiration and a dream for humanity. Behind him stretches the dead ruin of ancient empires; before him unfolds the tableau of lamentable duplication of the same selfish politics in our modern history; and in the centre lies the spiritual oasis of Asokan imperialism. It shines as a beacon light in the path of the political evolution of humanity, explaining the inevitable decay of old empires and putting to shame the retrospective laughter of the cynical imperialists of our modern age. Thus the empire of Asoka, with its new philosophy of conquest by Righteousness (*Dharma-vijaya*) and its now foundation of universal Well-being (*Kalyana*), stands as the central climacteric of human history—at once a fateful warning and a divine inspiration for Humanity.

Starting his career as an orthodox emperor engaged in the conquest of a territory (Kalinga) to the east of India, entailing the death of millions, Asoka had his first conversion as the result of that tragic contact with the actualities of politics. In a moment he discovered his mistake; and not stopping there, like a truly great soul, admitted his mistake

with a sincerity and penitence rarely paralleled by any other character of history. His edict of Kalinga is the noblest monument of his magnanimity; he made his repentance a perpetual lesson to posterity by carving on the rocks of the ravaged Kalinga an account of his Imperial blunder. Through that awful suffering he arrived at that noblest of political revelations that "true conquest consists in the conquest of men's hearts by the law of Dharma." From that conversion and that revelation issued twenty years (261-242 B. C.) of humanitarian activities touching the frontiers of the Hellenic world on the one hand and of the Mongolian world on the other, building the *first great causeway of Love and Illumination* between the Orient and the Occident, the first code of progressive imperialism and the first basis of constructive internationalism. The great truth of Universalism which flashed as a *revelation* upon the Souls of the *Rishis* of the Upanishads, which appeared as an *incarnation* in the personality of the first World-man, Buddha, translated itself into the Cosmopolitics of this first practical internationalist of history—Dharmasoka Piyadasi, the well-wisher of all, proclaiming with divine simplicity, "*Sava minisa me paga*"—whole humanity is my children—an echo of his master Buddha's saying.

India is generally known, represented and accepted as physically isolated and psychologically exclusive, and in a way that is true. But how could such an India evolve such cosmic personalities, remains still a paradox of history. Between the Boghas Keui inscription and the Behistun inscription—for nearly thousand years, the history of India's relations with the external world is full of tantalising guesses and absurd gaps. Latest researches, however, seem to discover "specific evidence for supposition that by 15th century B. C. tribes of Aryan stock held influence over the wide area extending from Northern Asia Minor and North-western Babylonia to Media."¹ Coming nearer home we find that there was a period of intimate historical contact between

¹ Dr. P. Giles, "The Aryans," Cambridge History of India (1922).

India and Iran, postulated and proved by philologists analysing the Rigveda and the Avesta. So Indo-Iranian period is a definite chapter of Asiatic history. Yet concrete historical facts are so few! The invasion of India by the Assyrian Queen Semiramis is only a legend though Arrian (Ch. 5) records that some Indian tribes were subjects of the Assyrian sovereigns. The simultaneous occurrence of the legend of the great Deluge in the Babylonian record and in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (circa 1000 B. C.) is probably more definite as an evidence of contact of India with the Mesopotamian culture. Some astronomical notions and the use of iron are said to have been derived from Babylonia.²

The occurrence of Indian apes and peacocks in the Old Testament is admitted by some and disputed by others.³ But Rawlinson and Kennedy (J. R. A. S., 1898) demonstrate that there are evidences of very early commercial relations between Southern India and the Western regions. The Semitic races were great pioneers in connecting isolated countries through commercial relations, one of the earliest motives of human amalgamation. Another great service rendered to humanity by the Semitic races was the *diffusion of alphabet*, at first probably for commercial facilities but later on converted into one of the greatest machineries for the propagation of Humanism. India is said to have derived her first alphabet from Semitic sources about the same time as Greece did (800 B. C.). And even if we do not accept the possibility of the march of Cyrus the Great to Indian frontiers we cannot help admitting that another script of India, the Kharosthi was established through the instrumentality of the Iranian rulers of north-western India. Darius was the first King to bring India to historical clarity. He sent one Skylax of Karyanda (516 B. C.) who discovered a water passage from Persia to the mouth of the Indus, and as the result of that survey the Indian satrapy of Darius was acquired. According to Herodotus it was the richest

². Indian Antiquary, XXXIV.

³. Sylvain Levi, "Baveru Jataka"; Keith : Cambridge History of India, Chap. V.

and the most populous of the Persian provinces. From that time the relation between India and Persia became steady. Indian soldiers fought with the Persians under Mardonius against the Greeks on the field of Plataea (479 B. C.) and the Mauryan empire and art bear here and there traces of this Persian contact, though the categorical assertions of a "Zoroastrian period of Indian history" and Zoroastrian influences on Asoka are extravagant.⁴

But all these are phases of primitive aggression or imperialistic exploitation—the earliest and the latest features of human politics. To elevate that politics into the dignity of a medium of humanistic ministrations and to transform that primitive instinct of aggrandisement into creative cosmopolitanism—that was done for the first time by the Buddhist Emperor Dharmasoka fulfilling the Brahmanical prophecy of Dharma-rajya (Kingdom of Righteousness) contained in the *Mahabharata*. Thus in the same epoch that Rome, the mother and model of European imperialism, was pulverising her last oriental enemy, Carthage, in the Punic wars, Asoka had been celebrating the Spiritual Matrimony between countries and continents. This was undoubtedly a new departure in world-politics and the opening of a new page in the history of humanity. Not satisfied with preaching his new revelations *inside* India, Asoka sent his missionaries of humanism to Syria (then under Antiochos Theos), to Egypt (under Plotemy Philadelphos), to Cyrene (under Magas), to Macedonia (under Antigonus Gonatus), and to Epirus (under Alexander). Apart from these names inscribed on his Rock Edicts of 257-256 B. C., we have strong traditions about his missions to Ceylon visited by his own son (or brother) Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra and even of his mission to far-off Burma (Suvarna-bhumi). Thus for the first time in history, humanity witnessed the *humanisation of politics*, and India, through the hands of Asoka, showered her blessings of Peace and Progress over this symbolical union of Asia, Africa, and Europe with ties of true internationalism.

By the side of this grand achievement of Asoka, the

⁴ V. Smith, "Oxford History of India", 1919, pp. 79, 95.

military adventures of Alexander the Great, in spite of their voluminous, nay garrulous expatiations, appear quite mediocre so far as the sublimity of conception and originality in execution of a *world idea* are concerned. Alexander, while acting as a splendid "Scourge of God", punishing the decadent powers of antiquity, followed the traditional method of conquest in achieving the traditional ideal of autocratic empire. Thus, accidentally, he happened to be the founder of the Greek colonies which helped in the propagation of Hellenism, but consciously he might seldom be said to have worked out any definite order of human welfare. All the legends collected by later chroniclers about Alexander and the Indian Gymnosophists show, how the Indian mind was not only not affected by the so-called martial glories of Alexander in India, but showed a somewhat disdainful pity at the sight of the cruel exploits of that Grand Barbarian. As a matter of fact, as soon as his army, demoralised by over-exhaustion and by the dread of the great Gangetic empire of Magadha, turned its back on India, the so-called Hellenic conquest of Alexander was dissipated from the mind of the Indians as an evil dream. Soon after, Chandragupta Maurya (330-298 B. C.) the grandfather of Asoka, cleared the country of all foreigners and taught a good lesson to the second Greek invader, Seleukos Nikator, who was forced to cede the provinces of Paropanisadai, Aria, Arachosia and Gedrosia. A treaty to this effect was concluded about 300 B. C., strengthened by a matrimonial alliance,—a Hindu emperor marrying a Hellenic wife, in spite of the so-called caste rigidities. The Syrian court sent Megasthenes as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta. Megasthenes left a valuable book—his *Indika*, and was replaced by Deimachos in the reign of the next emperor Bindusara (298-273 B. C.), who also received another envoy Dionysios sent by Plotemy Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 B. C.), an ally of Bindusara and of his son Asoka.

Thus down to the end of the reign of Asoka, the Hellenic people looked up to India as a strong ally and a civilising power and thus the Greeks seldom aspired to impose

upon the Indians in contact with the Hellenistic world, a civilisation of their own.

ASOKA'S MISSIONS : THEIR HISTORICAL CONSEQUENCES

Historically this was the commencement of the period of steady decadence of Hellas rendering the Hellenism of this epoch a dangerous solvent of the victorious Roman society. Both in art and literature the Greeks were betraying unmistakable signs of exhaustion and atavism. So, when Hellenism under Heliodorus and Menander made headway for the second time into the very heart of Hindusthan, we find some of these Hellenic adventurers already devotees of Hindu faith. The famous Besnagar Column (c. 150 B. C.) announces the conversion of a Greek ruler to Vaishnavism of the Bhagavata sect ; while the Buddhist classic *Milinda Panho* (the Questions of Milinda or Menander) stands as the proof of the assertion of Buddhist thought against Greek mind. This process continued also in the realm of art, when the Greek converts to Buddhism, collaborating with their Hindu fellow believers, developed the *Græco-Buddhist art* which exerted such a profound influence on the art evolution of Central Asia and the Far East (*cf.* Nag : Indian Iconography, Modern Review, January, 1922).

Thus India, through various political vicissitudes, through victory or defeat, was ever transforming the weapons of brute force into instruments of human progress—art and literature, philosophy and religion. Her north-western frontier lands remained ever as a veritable laboratory of *Cultural Chemistry*. India has demonstrated so far, that the political nomenclatures like the *Victor* or the *Vanquished* are misnomers. The real thing that counts and lasts for ever is human creation, in and through human amalgamation.

BARBARIAN INVASIONS AND THE PROBLEM OF THE "OPEN DOOR"

But now came the period when this principle of amical international assimilation was put to the severest test. During the first half of this millennium (500 B. C. downwards) India had to encounter two nations that had a civilisation of their

own—Persia and Greece. Fusion with them was comparatively an easy problem. But throughout the second half of this millennium (down to 500 A. D.) India was confronted with the problem of meeting the real Barbarians from Central Asia, surging down the Himalayas, and threatening to submerge civilisation in a deluge of savagery ! Was India to make no distinction between the civilised and the non-civilised ? Was she to follow still her policy of “open door” ? With supreme faith in her principle of *international unity*, India answered in the affirmative. Yes, she must allow every species of humanity to participate in her life and to test her principle. A law is either universal or nothing. Thus India remained faithful to her spiritual tradition whatever might have been the fluctuations of her political destiny.

INSTINCTS OF CONSERVATION AND ASSIMILATION

So when the barbarian Sakas began their trial of India's faith, India accepted them, as she did accept and assimilate, the other branches of the barbarous races---the Kushans and the Huns. No doubt the instinct of conservation manifested itself in the stricter social legislation. The simpler social laws of the early law-books, the Dharma-sutras, were amplified, sometimes showing inordinate rigidity (not always however ensuriug or enforcing practice). Thus the great codes of Manu and Yajnavalkya, of Vishnu and Narada were all compiled ~ in a systematic fashion by 500 A. D., and through them the Hindu mind betrayed its pre-occupation with the “untouchable Mleccha problem.” But actual history always defies the codification of social Legislators as well as the admonition of religious Censors. Sacerdotal blockade or imperial barricade were futile against subtle sociological fusion. Thus the Four Orders of Society---the *Chaturvarnas*, in spite of their being very ancient and quite orthodox as contended by Oldenburg (Z.D.M.G., Vol. 51), remained generally and especially in this period, *in a state of fluidity*, and Senart had good reasons to assert that the *Caste System* was largely a social fiction (Emile Senart,

"Les Castes dans l'Inde : les Faits et la Systeme," 1896). Hence we find frequently, glaring exceptions and anomalies, e.g., Mleccha kings or laymen, our Usabhadatas and Rudradamans posing as the Pillars of Orthodoxy ! This has been conclusively proved with reference to concrete epigraphic documents by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his paper, "The Foreign Elements in Hindu Population" (Indian Antiquary, 1911).

SALVATION THROUGH FAITH : THE BHAKTI MARGA AND THE MAHAYANA

The sudden invasion and the continuous infiltration of these savage foreigners into India, produced at first an ethnic confusion (*varnasamkara*) and cultural disturbance which threatened to be cataclysmic. It is the phenomenal adaptability or vitality of Hinduism that enabled India to sustain that shock. It produced no doubt at first a laxity in her lofty discipline by the inevitable enfranchisement of diverse religious and social norms. But in another way that apparent lowering of her standard led to a grand enrichment of her cultural life and an unparalleled *democratisation of her culture*. India had already developed the discipline of Faith (*Bhaktimarga*), through the Bhagavata sects of Vaishnavism (2nd century B. C.), for the foreign converts. (Vide. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism Saivism* etc.) The Bhagavad Gita offered, through its philosophical muse, salvation through one God :

"Leaving everything else aside.

Betake thyself to my unique protection."

And about the same time that the divine prophet of Judaea was putting to shame the whole decadent culture of the Greco-Roman world by his profound expiation for Humanity, India also was transcending her "little path" (*Hina-yana*) of individual salvation and inaugurating her career along the "grand path" (*Maha-yana*) through her divine solicitude for the All-Being (*Sarva-sattva*). Her great poet-philosopher Asvaghosha, who composed a magnificent poem on the life of Buddha the first inculcator of universal amity (*maitri*), also

developed the philosophy of the All-Being as the ultimate goal of individual discipline, in his "Awakening of Faith (*Sraddhotpada Sastra*) which may be accepted as a landmark in the history of Indian internationalism. Moreover, it was composed by a philosopher who himself was carried away as a part of a tribute imposed on his native city by the barbarian conqueror Kanishka.

PAN-ASIATIC EXPANSION

Thus, from the beginning of the Christian era, India started playing her role of internationalism not only through her lofty academic philosophy or through the vigorous propagation of a royal personality, but as a whole people following mysteriously a divine impulse, an æsthetic inspiration to sacrifice the *Ego* for the *All*. This grand movement of spiritual conquest, this noble dynamic of cultural imperialism—a legacy of Asoka—soon won for India the inalienable empire over the vast continent, right across Tibet and China to Corea and Japan on the one hand and across Burma and Indo-China to Java and Indonesia on the other. The history of this phenomenal progression has yet to be written. It is full of profound lessons for students of internationalism. We can only suggest here a few lines of approach. It was a period of rare give-and-take in human history—between Buddhism and Mazdaism, Taoism and Confucianism Manichæism and Christianity. It is through years of international collaboration that we may hope to reconstruct this long-forgotten history and to trace the specific contributions of India in this grand Passion-Play of Humanity.

Scholars like Richard Garbe and Vincent Smith agree with regard to the theory that Buddhism influenced the early development of Christianity* which in its turn coloured some of the later Hindu doctrines and creeds. "Although (Asoka's) missionary effort did not succeed in planting Buddhist Churches in foreign countries (excepting Syria) its effects may be traced," says Mr. V. Smith, "obscure-

* c. f. also Kennedy, "Buddhist Gnosticism" (J. R. A.S., 1902).

ly both on the history of Gnostic and Manichæan sects of Christianity." So the great Egyptologist Flinders Petrie remarks after having discovered portraits of Indian men and women at Memphis: "These are the first remains of Indians known on the Mediterranean. Hitherto there have been no material evidence for that connection which is stated to have existed both by embassies from Egypt and Syria to India and by the great Buddhist missions sent by Asoka as far west as Greece and Cyrene. We seem now to have touched the Indian Colony in Memphis and we may hope for more light on that connection, which seems to have been so momentous for western thought!"*

FROM GANDHARA KHOTAN AND CENTRAL ASIA TO CHINA.

But the most important result of the formulation of the new doctrine of the Grand Vehicle (Maha-yana) was not so much on the Western Countries as on the Eastern Asiatic world. Arrian, writing about this epoch, notes in his *Indika* that "a *sense of justice* prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India." While remaining true to this tradition with regard to political expansion, Mahayana India set about a *spiritual* conquest that remains to this day a marvel of history. Shaking off the narrow individualism of the old *Theravada* school, India elaborated (in *Gandhara*, that crucible of her cultural experiments) the doctrine of *Sarvastivada*, asserting that everything external as well as internal is *real*. The classical works of this new school of philosophy, the *Vibhasa* and the *Maha-Vibhasa* were composed by Katyayani-putra one of the masters of Asvaghosha.† The Vaibhasika sect of the *Sarvastivadins* were strong in the border-lands of the North-western India, in Kashmir, in Gandhara and through Udyana, Kashgar, Khotan and Persia § it entered China. In fact, there are strong traditions about the persistent attempt of China to

* "Man," Vol. VIII (1906). † Dr. Takakusu, "Sarvastivadins,"

§ Stein, *Geographical Journal*, May and Aug. 1916

reach India. In 217 B. C. in the reign of Emperor Tsin Shih Huaung-ti, 18 Buddhist monks are said to have been brought to the Chinese capital. It is a fact well established that the Chinese Columbus in this respect was Chang Kien who succeeded for the first time to penetrate through the barbarian zones of the Hiueng-nu to the West of China, and to bring definite information about Ta-hia (Bactria) and Shen-tu (Sindhu-Hindu) by his intrepid adventures between 128-115 B. C. (*cf.* Nag : *Les Theories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthasastra*, Paris).

About the beginning of the Christian era Yue-chi ambassadors to the Chinese Court are said to have brought some Buddhist Scriptures, proving thereby that Buddhism had already spread over a part of Central Asia. Lastly, in 67 A. D. under Emperor Ming-ti we hear about the official introduction of Buddhism into China, not only with Buddhist scriptures but statues and also two Indian monks, Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaraksa, the former translating the first Chinese Buddhist text: "The 42 sayings of Buddha." In the then capital Loyang, the famous Pai-ma temple was built in the Honan province and many Taoist and Confucian nobles were said to have been converted to Buddhism by 71 A. D.

ASVAGHOSHA AND NAGARJUNA

This period coincides with the great Kushan empire in India, which witnessed such a grand development in religion art and literature that this foreign Mleccha Dynasty underwent a sort of canonisation. Its greatest King Kanishka appeared as a second Asoka. So the principles of the Great Vehicle suggested by Asvaghosha was given a tremendous impetus by its second great philosopher-scientist Nagarjuna living about this age of illumination with its centre in the court of Emperor Kanishka who was also a great patron of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhara which came gradually to be a sort of international art-language for the whole of Central Asia. So Taxila became a great centre of scientific and artistic activities with Charaka as the master of the

medical school, Katyayani-putra its great philosopher, and Asvaghosha as its poet and musician.

EXPANSION BY SEA : CHAMPA, CAMBOJ, SUMATRA, JAVA

But the expansion was not only along the land routes. In this marvellous century Hippalus discovered the Trade-winds, the "monsoons" (79 A.D.) and thereby facilitated sea voyage. "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," an invaluable journal of some nameless navigator of this age, saved for us by chance, proves the magnitude of the international trade in that epoch extending from Africa *via* India and the Malay Peninsula to far off China. Bold Indian mariners were starting to found their culture-colonies in Champa and Cambodge in Indo-China, and in the Malay Archipelago as far as Java. For Ptolemy in his Geography (2nd century A. D.) already calls the Island of Java by its Indian name Jabadiu. So Professor Pelliot in his researches into the history of Fu-nan (ancient Cambodia) finds traces of Indian culture there, already in the 3rd century A.D. and also notices the frequent mention of big ships crossing the seas. (Vide Le Fou-nan. Bulletin. Ecole F. Ex. O., Vol. III.)

Indian legends stories and art traditions were already penetrating the Far East by these Sea Routes, as Indian religious and philosophical texts were entering by the Land Routes ; and in course of a few years we find China using both the routes in her grand cultural commerce with India. So, on the one hand, the material wealth of India was rapidly developing an active commerce between India and the Western World through the Roman Empire, and on the other hand, the invaluable spiritual treasures of India were inducing her far stabler relations with the Eastern World. So Bakaria (port of Kottayam, Travancore) and Bharukaccha (Broach), Vidisa and Vaisali, Tamraparni and Tamralipti, were big centres in this grand international circulation, so well reflected in the wonderful anthologies of popular tales and legends: the Jatakas, the Avadanas and the Katha literature of India.

COMMON PEOPLE AS CIVILISING AGENCIES

By the side of this marvellous development of internationalism through free economic relations and spiritual exchange, the rise and fall of self-centered governments and nationalistic empires seem to be quite second rate in importance. The profoundest changes in the life-history of nations are often effected silently by agencies distinctly non-political. So we watch the simultaneous collapse of the Kushan Empire in India and the Han empire in China (circa 225 A. D.); we observe the rise of the Sassanian empire in Persia (226 A.D.), the establishment of the Gupta empire in India (300 A.D.) and the downfall of the Western Roman Empire as the result of the Barbarian invasions (487 A. D.). But through all these rises and falls of empires, continues the silent fertilising current of International Commerce—economic as well as spiritual—leading to a phenomenal quickening of human thought and sympathy. Thus through all these periods of political trials and vicissitudes, India went on quietly with her work of internationalism : and about the same time that the Huns were to open another chapter of savage onslaught on her bosom, India was sending her sons Kumarajiva and Gunavarman to China to preach Buddhism, while Chinese pilgrims like Fa-hien, Chih-mong and Fa-mong were coming to India to drink at the fountain-head of spiritual wisdom. All the barriers of geography and ethnography have been swept away by the inundation of international amity. India realises herself in a new way by transcending her narrow national limits. That is probably why the greatest poet of this epoch (5th century A. D.) Kalidasa, the brightest of the "Nine gems" of geniuses adorning the court of Vikramaditya, gives deathless expression to this profound longing of India for the world beyond the Himalayas, through his immortal poem of the "Cloud Messenger" (*Megha-duta*) addressed to the Beloved in the Great Beyond—almost symbolical of this cosmic passion of India in this golden age of Indian internationalism.

III. RETROSPECT ACROSS THE THIRD MILLENNIUM (CIRCA 500-1500 A.D.)

INDIA, THE HEART OF ASIATIC HUMANISM

The cry of the hero of Kalidasa's "Cloud Messenger" for his Beloved beyond the barriers of the Himalayas, was a veritable cry of India at that age, for the Great Beyond—the Greater India. Out of the sheer fulness of her heart, India had already twice before, under Asoka and Kanishka, plunged into the vast world outside her narrow geographical limits. Each time India transcended her national boundaries, she had developed a civilisation as permanently *national*, in the best sense, as *international* in its beneficial operation. Now, for the third time we witness the *overflow of Indian Humanism* fertilising the whole of Asia, at the same time, developing an indigenous culture unparalleled in her history. The mere names of Kalidasa and Varahamihira, Gunavarman and Vasubandhu, Aryabhatta and Brahmagupta, are sufficient to mark this epoch as an apogee of Indian culture. Our political historians try to explain this grand development by referring to this or that emperor of this or that dynasty. The Guptas or the Vardhanas of India, the Wei or the T'ang dynasty of China are supposed to have worked the whole miracle. But thanks to the indisputable evidences recovered, as the result of the international crusades of archaeology in Central Asia, we know that this wonderful transformation was effected by factors far from being political ; its progression was mostly along the peaceful *silk-roads* from China and *manuscript-roads* from India rather than along the path of aggressive imperialism. The Russian archaeological missions under Klementz and Kazoloff, French missions under Dutreuil de Rhins and Paul Pelliot, English missions under Dr Hoernle and Sir Aurel Stein, German missions under Grunwedel and von Le Coq and Japanese missions under Count Otani and Tachibana, have brought to to light a treasure of archaeological and artistic finds, masses of inscriptions and manuscripts which, when thoroughly analysed and digested, would revolutionise our conception about the migration of early culture in Eurasia, now viewed generally from the false perspective of isolated national

histories of the different countries. With gratitude to the researches of those *savants* I beg to present a rough sketch of this grand movement of cultural exchange between nations and nations.

INDIA AND CHINA

Down to the period of the missionary activities of Kumārajīva (344-413 A.D.), Buddhism and Indian culture penetrated China mainly through the Central Asian routes. Most of the early Sino-Buddhist texts coming down from the Loyang School, were from the pen of the Yuch-chi, Parthian or Sogdian converts to Buddhism, working in collaboration with the Chinese Buddhists. In Mahayana texts like the *Chandragarbha* and the *Suryagarbha* *sutras* as well as in *Mahamayuri* texts, we find a curious admixture of Indian, Khotanese, Iranian and Chinese spirit. Linguistic test also demonstrates that most of these translations were not done directly from Indian classical languages like Sanskrit and Pali but from popular dialects (Prakrits) of the various parts of India.

FA-HIEN, A PILGRIM FROM CHINA

With the appearance of Fa-hien (399-414 A. D.) one of the earliest of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India, the great period of *direct* Sino-Indian collaboration was opened. Classical Buddhist texts like *Dhamma-paḍa* and *Milinda-panho* came to be translated or adapted *directly* from Indian originals. Fa-hien studied in Pataliputra (Patna) under the great savant Revati, master of Buddhaghosha who soon carried the torch of Truth to Ceylon. Since then the history of India and Ceylon are so intimately connected that we shall not attempt here a separate treatment of Indian influences on Ceylon. India in this age was the veritable land of illumination and attracted countless ardent spirits like Fa-hien who took tremendous risk in those days to cross the Taklamakan (Gobi) desert, Khotan and the Pamir ranges to reach the land of his heart's desire.

Visiting the great intellectual centres of Taxila and Purushapura (Peshawar), studying for three years at Pataliputra and two years at Tamralipti, Fa-hien returned to China, having stopped for some time in the Indian colonies of Ceylon and Java on his way.

KAMARAJIVA, A MISSIONARY FROM KUCHA

Kumarajiva* (344-413). a monk from an Indian family domiciled in Karashahr (Kucha), was brought to China as a captive by a Chinese general. This Buddhist captive repaid his captors by working for more than ten years in China, attracting by his phenomenal talent the best Chinese brains of that age. The most veteran men of letters collaborated with Kumarajiva in his work. No wonder that the translations from his pen are recognised to-day as classics of Chinese literature and his version of the "Lotus of the Good Law" (*Saddharma-piṇḍarika*) still stands as the most valued text of the Chinese-Buddhist scriptures. By sheer genius and devotion Kumarajiva succeeded in reuniting temporarily the Northern (Turco-Mongolian) and the Southern (Indigenous) schools of Chinese Buddhism which had by that time made a tremendous progress amongst the mass of the people.

BUDDHABHADRA, FOUNDER OF THE DHYANA SCHOOL IN CHINA

About the same period another Buddhist missionary, Buddha-bhadra, arrived in China by the *sea route* (Shantung), and by his purity of life, great discipline and meditation influenced profoundly the southern Chinese people, poetic and transcendental in spirit. Here Buddha-bhadra found a field of work congenial to him; and by fusing Buddhist meditateness with Chinese quietism, he laid the foundation of the *Shan-no* (Dhyana) school of Chinese philosophy and poetry, collaborating with the group of monks, poets and philosophers of the monastery of Mount Lu Shan associated with the name of the great Hui-yuan (416 A.D.).

* Cf. Sylvain Levi : *Journal Asiatique*, 1913.

PRINCE GUNAVARMAN, THE PAINTER MISSIONARY FROM KASHMIR

Simultaneously with Kumarajiva and Buddha-bhadra appears the noble figure of the Prince-monk Gunavarman * who refused his throne of Kashmir, prompted by his zeal for the mission work. He visited Ceylon in 400 A.D. and then crossed over to the island of Java where he found the first Buddhist monastery converting the King and the Queen-mother. Then he appeared in Canton (424 A. D.) and in Nanking, propagation his faith as much by his wonderful religious paintings as by his learned translations. He founded two *viharas* in Nanking, introduced the strict *Vinaya* system of ordination after the Indian School, and organised the first congregation of Chinese nuns. After his death in China (431 A.D.) we read of the arrival of two batches of nuns from Ceylon under Tissara (?) organising the Chinese nunneries after Sinhalese model. So during this epoch the relation between India and China through Ceylon and Java by the sea route was quite intimate; and Dr. Takakusu opines (J.R.A.S., 1896) that the great Indian missionary Buddhaghosha also visited China from his base of work in Ceylon. No wonder that China acknowledges her gratitude by translating (472 A.D. from an Indian original now lost) and cherishing the "Lives of Twenty-three Indian Patriarchs", comprising the careers of great Buddhist saints like Kasyapamatauga, Asvaghosha, Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu and others. But while a few such names have been fortunately preserved, hundreds are lost. And we are as much thankful to those nameless and unknown workers of humanity as to the group of the more fortunate known. The precious researches of Edouard Chavannes and Sylvain Levi have recovered for us from oblivion many such grand yet long forgotten personalities: Chih-mong and Fa-mong (contemporary of Fa-hien, 400 A.D.) from China, and Sanghasena and Guna-vriddhi from India (492 A.D.).

* Cf. E. Chavannes, "Gunavarman," *T'oung Pao*, vol. v.

BODHIDHARMA, THE SILENT MISSIONARY

In the sixth century we witness a phenomenal development in sea-communication between India and China *via* Malay Archipelago. The first notable case of sea voyage from India was that of Bodhidharma who came to south China in 520 A.D. and worked in the same field as Buddhahadra, amongst the mystic population of China. Bodhidharma is said to have remained silent for the first *nine years*! Yet he exerted a profound influence on the Chinese mind and "opened a powerful stream of meditative naturalism in China and Japan."

PARAMARTHA, FOUNDER OF THE YOGACHARA SCHOOL IN CHINA

The second case of sea voyage was that of the Indian savant Paramartha, the famous biographer of the Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu (420-500 A.D.). Having arrived in China in 540 A.D., Paramartha was cordially invited to Nanking in 548 A.D.. He was not only the translator of the works of Asanga and Vasubandhu, the pillars of the *realistic school* of Buddhist Idealism, but was also the first propagator of the *Yogachara* school of thought before Hiuen-Tsang.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF SINO-INDIAN COLLABORATION

With the unification of the North and the South under the auspices of the Tang Dynasty (617-910 A. D.) recovering control over Central Asia, there opened the most glorious period of Asiatic Art and Philosophy through the vigorous collaboration of India and China. The invaluable records left by the two great Chinese pilgrims Hiuen-Tsang (629-645 A. D.) and It-sing (700 A. D.), bear testimony to the fact that India had come to be the very heart of Asiatic Humanism. That explains partly the jealous attacks on the Buddhist organisations in China from contemporary Taoist and Confucian rivals. Yet it must be admitted that through every phase of this evolution, India had been shaping vigorously the whole fabric of Chinese thought

and aesthetics. On the one hand, the Indian spirit was so marvellously naturalised in China that the Sino-Indian texts, even to-day, "form an intergral part of the Chinese language and literature." On the other hand the recent discoveries of Grunwedel and von Le Coq in Central Asia and of Sir Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot in, the wonderful grottos of Touen Houang, prove the phenomenal fusion of Hellenic and Iranian, Christian and Manichæan streams of thought and culture under the grand transforming agency of Buddhism. "Anything that came from India brought with it a high prestige." Indian models of Buddhist art were closely followed; Indian imagery and symbolism, Indian ideals of form were taken over by Chinese masters and therefore their Buddhist pictures show a striking contrast to their secular drawings and paintings. The Touen Houang pictures show the wonderful fusion of Sino-Indian styles and the T'ang masters of Touen Houang were closely followed by the early Japanese masters. Thus the chance discovery* of this desert grotto with its polyglot library and wonderful art treasures, has contributed so much to our knowledge of the history of international intercourse. Touen Houang, situated on the great highway stretching across Asia from China to the Mediterranean where it intersected the main routes from Mongolia in the north and Tibet and India in the south—naturally shows the relics of the historical fusion of the Orient and the Occident, and that is why the Chinese Buddhist paintings of the T'ang period are considered, by experts like Raphaela Petrucci and Laurence Binyon, to inaugurate "one of the greatest periods of creative art in world history."

INDIA AND KOREA

From China, Buddhism naturally entered Korea. As early as 374 A.D. two monks A-tao and Shun-tao, both foreigners, were invited from North China to the capital of Koryo (modern Pien-yang). In 384 A. D. certain

* Cf. Sir Aurel Stein: *Ruins of Desert Cathay*" and Serindia; also Paul Pelliot: *Touen Houang*.

Matananda (a curious Indian name) was welcomed by the court of the Paikchai (middle Korea) and was backed by a fresh batch of Indian and Chinese missionaries. Towards the middle of the 5th century Buddhist propaganda advanced to the south and an ascetic called the "Black Foreigner" preached the doctrine of the *Tri-ratna* (triple gem), after having been famous by curing with his wonderful science a princess of the Silla kingdom which recognised Buddhism officially in 528.

Between 540-576 A. D., we read about a king and a queen of Korea taking to the robes of monks and nuns. In 551 A.D. a sort of Buddhist Patriarchate was created with a Korean priest as the archbishop of the realm, and Buddhism continued to shine with incomparable radiance down to the 10th century when Korea was under the Koryo dynasty (918 A. D.). So Korea still remains a rich and virgin field of Buddhist archaeology largely unexplored. We may hope that some day the friendly collaboration of Chinese, Korean and Japanese scholars would unfold to the world the complete history of Korean Buddhism.

INDIA AND JAPAN*

The small country of Korea had the unique privilege of presenting to Japan one of its greatest civilising agencies—continental Buddhism. Chinese learning had penetrated Japan as early as the 5th century A. D.; but it was Korea that made the first official presentation in 538 A. D. of a gilt statue of Buddha, some beautiful banners and sacred texts to the Japanese court, as a sign of homage and friendship. The accompanying message from Korea was also noble, declaring that "Buddha dharma the most excellent of all laws which brings immeasurable benefit to its believers...had been accepted in all lands laying between India and Korea."

* Cf. Dr. Anesaki : "Buddhist Mission" in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* ; also Dr. Takakusu : "What Japan owes to India" in the *Young East*, Vols. II.--VI.

The opposition of the conservative party only accentuated the zeal of progressive Japan and with the fall of the anti-Buddhist party in 587 A.D., Prince Umayado or Shotoku (593-622 A.D.) the Constantine of Japan, made Buddhism the state religion of Japan. He invited Korean monks to teach the sciences like astronomy and medicine to his people and sent Japanese students to China to study Buddhism. With the influx of Buddhist monks and savants came artists, artisans and physician-philanthropists as the rear guard of religion. And here, as everywhere, Buddhism built its influence on the solid foundation of the philanthropic and aesthetic instincts of the believers. Thus there grew up asylums, hospitals, dispensaries as well as the great treasures of Art: painting, sculpture and architecture, wherever the new Faith went. We hear of Chinese missionary Kan-jin. (754-763. A.D.) organising medical missions and founding botanical gardens. So the Indian missionary Bodhisena, a Brahmin of *Bharadvaja gotra*, came to Japan in 736 A. D with his Cham (from the Hindu colony of Champa) and Chinese followers, many of whom were artists and musicians ; and Bodhisena worked as the Buddhist Bishop of Japan till his death in 760 A.D., always known as the "Brahmin Bishop".

These missionaries not only introduced but developed many useful arts, knowing full well that art is a great handmaid to religion. Indian lyre (*vina*) and other musical instruments as well as bas-reliefs in the Graeco-Buddhist style are preserved in the Imperial treasury of Japan dating from the 8th century A.D. With profound respect for individual development, these Buddhist workers never imposed anything by force ; so that everywhere their advent was followed by a phenomenal growth of native arts and crafts. Thus the medical and the artistic missionaries played almost as great a part as saints and learned scholars in the propagation of the Indian faith.

During the whole of the 8th century, the famous Nara Period (708-794 A.D.), the movement of Peace and Illumination spread from the capital city to the provinces where many

people now began to endow religious and philanthropic institutions and these humanitarian works soon "converted the whole of Japan into Buddhahood." Japanese sculpture and painting began to awaken to its career of world famous creation, while the constant contact with China brought from time to time different schools of Buddhist thought. The mystic *Mantra* sect, introduced into China in the 8th century by Subhakarasiṃha and Amoghavajra, entered Japan in the 9th century and even some of the esoteric sects like the Dharma-lakṣhaṇa, organised by Asaṅga, while losing hold on India and China, were preserved in the Japanese school of Buddhist philosophy. Far from imposing a foreign system to the detriment of the independent development of the indigenous peoples, Buddhism liberated the dormant springs of individual creative activities. So within two centuries of the official introduction of Buddhism, we find the Japanese people developing cults, sects, schools of philosophy and art-traditions of their own. The brightest stars of Japan in the 9th century like Saichō and Kōbō were pioneers of real Japanese Buddhism independent of continental influences : Saichō (767-822 A.D.) founded the famous sect called *Tendai-shū*, preaching "Buddha the historical revealer of Truth as the full enlightenment, and the realisation of such Buddhahood in one's own consciousness as the supreme object of all mysteries, virtues and wisdom." Another sect called the *Shingon-shū* was founded by Kōbō or Kūkai (774-835 A.D.). He preached : "the Universe is Buddha externalised and that the Buddha within us may be called forth by the practice of the mystery in heart, in conduct and in speech."

The *Tendai* and *Shingon* sects exerted powerful influence amongst the refined and cultured aristocracy of Japan. But the stoic military class and the superstitious mass also were evolving their own suitable systems out of Buddhism. Since the beginning of the 12th century, internal troubles and disasters of Japan slowly developed a pessimism which wanted less philosophical and more emotional from of religion to satisfy the people. So Hōren (1133-1212 A.D.) appeared denouncing all philosophy as effete and all mysteries as

useless. He preached the doctrine of *Sukhavati*, the Japanese Jodo or "The Western Paradise" according to which any creature, ignorant or wise, high or low, could be saved by simple faith in the boundless grace of *Amitabha*.

Side by side, we watch the marvellous transformation of the primitive Shintoism under Buddhist influences, when men like Chika-fusa (1339 A. D.) developed a new syncretism representing all popular animistic gods of Shintoism as the *avatars* of Buddha.

Lastly, the stoical *samurai* military class found its firm support in the philosophy of the Zen (*Dhyana*) sect introduced into Japan in 1250 A. D., by some disciples of the old *Shan-no* (*Dhayana*) sect of China, organised by Indian missionaries like Buddha-bhadra and Bodhi-dharma. Thus while India herself, on account of her pre-occupation with narrow domestic problems forgot all about her far-off cultural colonies of Korea and Japan, the devoted philosophers and master artists of Japan were worshipping the ineffable personality of *Buddha-Amitabha* and covering temple after temple with the marvellous figure of the Indian saint, *Pindola Bharadwaja*.

INDIA AND TIBET

Tibet was rather late in emerging from its state of savage isolation. It is significant that the very first king who brought Tibet up to Asiatic importance, was in close contact with India and China: King Srong-btsan-Gampo (630-698 A.D.) married an Indian (Nepalese) princess as well as a Chinese one; the former introduced the Hindu-Buddhist cult of *Tara* along with other occult practices, while the latter brought Chinese Buddhism and priests. Not stopping there, Gampo sent his able minister *Thummi Sambhota* to India where he studied and gradually evolved out of Devanagari script, the present Tibetan alphabet. The next King Khri-Srong-de-btsan (740-786 A.D.) invited learned scholars from India and with their noble collaboration, the Tibetans soon managed to have a scripture and literature of their

own. The names of Indian savants like *Padmasambhava* and his disciple *Pagur Vairochana* are ever memorable in Tibetan history. Translations and adaptations of Indian texts continued vigorously down to the appearance of the great personality of *Dipamkara Srijnana* or *Atisa* (1038 A.D.) from Bengal, who effected a veritable reformation in the religious history of Tibet.

Naturally primitive and gross by temperament the Tibetans did not develop any independent system of their own as was done by the Chinese or the Japanese. Most of their standard compilations like the *Kandjour* (book of revelation—words of Buddha) and the *Tandjour* (book of tradition) stand to-day as curious collections of religion and magic, science and poetry. No doubt they translated from time to time, classical works of Indian literature like the famous lexicon of *Amarakosha* and the *Meghaduta* "Cloud Messenger" of Kalidasa, the grammar of *Chandragomin* and the treatise on painting and iconography like the "Chitralakshana";—yet we cannot help noticing that the Tibetans showed almost a morbid preference for the mystical and magical texts of later debased Buddhism: the *Vajra-yana*, the *Kalachakra-yana*, etc., which went to the formation of Lamaism. Here we find the alchemist-philosopher *Nagarjuna* tacitly preferred to the Buddha himself. So the savage pre-Buddhistic Shamanism of the Bon cult, the crude magic and devil-charming rituals common to the mountainous tribes, came to be mixed up with Indian Buddhism. Still it effected a miracle by gradually transforming the mentality of the people. Mr. Waddel who lived amongst the Tibetans for a long time and who is one of the leading authorities on Tibetan history, writes :

"The current of Buddhism which runs through its tangled Paganism has brought to the Tibetan most of the little civilisation which he possess and has raised him correspondingly in the scale of humanity, lifting him above a life of semi-barbarism, by setting before him higher hopes and aims, by giving milder meanings to his demonist mythology, by discountenancing sacrifice of animal lives and by inculcating universal charity and tenderness to all living things."

INDIA AND THE TURCO-MONGOLIAN PEOPLES

With the conquest of China and Central Asia by the Mongol chief Chengiz Khan (died 1227 A.D.) and his successor Kubilai Khan (1260 A.D.), Tibetan Buddhism was established as a sort of theocracy by Lama Phagspa, the Tibetan ally of Kubilai. Through the intermediary of Tibet, the arts and crafts of India and Nepal (especially *Bronze casting*) reached the courts of the Buddhist Mongolian emperors of China and were always prized as works of rare craftsmanship and great value. Phagspa* (Tibetan for Arya) died in 1280 A.D. and was succeeded by Lama Dharmapala in the office of the Imperial Chaplain of the Mongol emperors of China. The noble activities of these Buddhist workers, in this epoch, connected the Tibetans, the Mongols, the Tunguse and the Ouigur Turks (in the frontiers of Siberia) and other Samoyed races, in one bond of spiritual union.†

INDIA AND SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA

The whole of the eastern Asiatic world may be linguistically divided into three main sections : (i) *Koreo-Japanese* (ii) *Sino-Tibetan* and (iii) *Malay-Polynesian*. We have, so far, traced the influence of Indian humanism on the nations of the first two groups. Now, passing on to the third group, we remember the border land of Burma. From Burma we march through *Siam*, *Cambodia* (in fact the whole of the *Trans-Gangetic peninsula*) to the *Malay Archipelago*† (with Sumatra, Java, Madura, Bali, Lombok, Borneo and other islands) till at last we are in the heart of *Indonesia*. The whole history of this vast area was enveloped in deep obscurity till very recent times. Thanks to the researches of the *French* and the *Dutch* scholars who are pioneers in this branch of investigation, we have now a fairly clear view of the history of South-eastern Asia. With every fresh archæological discovery or philological analysis, we are more and more convinced of the fact, that down to quite late

* Prof. Paul Pelliot : Lectures on Lamaism in College de France (1922-23).

† Huth (G) : "Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei (1893).

periods (13th-14th centuries) when Islam penetrated this area, the greatest formative influence on the life and history of the peoples of south-eastern Asia was that of India, backed by China in certain parts.

EPOCHS OF HINDU COLONISATION

The archæological finds in this part of the world are of a comparatively late period. So the scholars of the last generation were rather sceptic with regard to the possibility of early penetration of Indian influence. But we should consider that long before a king feels inclined to get a grandiloquent panegyric of his career inscribed on a rock or a copper-plate, that long before a community is capable of rearing a great architectural monument, a people discovers another people quite normally, propelled by the *spirit of adventure*, economic or spiritual. So it is not *prima facie* improbable that Indian missionaries reached south-eastern Asia by the sea route, about the same period that they had been penetrating the Far-Western and the Far-Eastern regions by the land route.

The very fact that Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) names many of the places in his Geography of this region in an Indian way up to Java, proves that the Indians were already in the field. The earliest inscriptions of *Champa* (Indo-China) bearing evidences of Indian (simultaneously *Brahmanic* and *Buddhistic*) influence, go as far back as the 3rd century A.D. Prof. Paul Pelliot, one of the greatest living authorities on the history of this area, believes that apart from the great *Central Asian route*, there were *two other old roads* of communication for the Eastern Asiatic peoples : one was the land-route from India *via* Assam and Burma to China and another was the sea-route *via* Indo-Chinese coasts. And Pelliot discovers in Chinese documents that India appears in the history of *Funan* (ancient Cambodia) as early as 3rd century A.D. Thus, although the materials are as yet scanty, we may state that in course of their *first movement of expansion* about the begining of the Christian era, the Indians

left unmistakable traces of their influence on Pegu, Burma and Champa, Cambodge, Sumatra and Java, though the despatching of Asokan missionaries to Burma may be a later fabrication.

The *second wave of cultural colonisation* was in the 5th century A.D.---a period of great internal prosperity and intellectual maturity in the history of India. During this century not only *Champa* and *Cambodge* were thoroughly hinduised, but fresh Hindu colonies appear in the Malay Peninsula, in ancient Siam, in Laos, in Borneo, Sumatra and Java. This is the epoch when *Aryabhatta* (b. 479 A.D.) and *Varahamihira* (505-587 A.D.) were assimilating the Hellenic sciences, when Gunavarman (dying in Nanking (431 A.D.) was converting Java to Buddhism, when the famous frescoes of Ajanta were recording in their exquisite language the fusion of Aryo-Dravidian and Indo-Persian culture. In this grand epoch of *Hindu renaissance*, there was no exclusive *caste* prohibitions and no intolerant sectarianism. Hence we find Brahmanism and Buddhism, in fact all sects and denominations, flourishing peacefully in these cultural colonies of India in South-eastern Asia. The history of the movement of Hindu syncretism and cultural synthesis in this region of *Magna India*, has yet to be written.

BURMA AND CEYLON

Burma is linguistically related to Tibet but it came in touch with Indian civilisation much earlier. The introduction of Buddhism by Asokan missionaries (3rd century B. C.) may or may not be true ; but it is strongly urged by native tradition that *Buddhaghosha* established the Hinayana Buddhism in Burma from Ceylon about 450 A. D. Meanwhile sinologists have discovered in the Chinese *Tai Annals*, sufficient evidences to assert that even *Buddhaghosha*, the champion of the Ceylonese Hinayana was not the first in this field. He had his predecessors in the missionaries of the Mahayana and of the Brahmanical systems in Burma. This is corroborated by the

interesting collection of *Pyu* inscriptions (5th century A. D.) which bear traces of borrowing from Sanskrit vocabulary through the medium of *living dialects* (Prakrits) of Eastern India and not through the canonical language Pali. So there is every possibility of early contact with Sanskrit Mahayana through Eastern Bengal and Assam. From that period down to the present day, Burma, like Ceylon, remains in religion and culture, essentially a part of India.

CHAMPA CAMBODGE SIAM AND LAOS

The Indian colonies of Champa and Cambodge are, like Ceylon, too important to be treated summarily; special studies would be devoted to them.¹

Siam was also formally converted during the later period of Hindu expansion. Buddhism was introduced into Siam from Cambodia and like Cambodia it remained faithful to the Ceylonese or the southern Pali Buddhism. A splendid Buddha image, a rare specimen of Ceylon bronze-casting, has been discovered amongst the ruins of Champa. Mon. Cabaton, an authority on the history of these peoples affirm that until the advent of the Portuguese navigators (16th century), Siam was completely within the cultural influence of India :

"It received its first civilisation from the Brahmins of India and then from the merchants from the Malabar and the Coromandel (coast); and along with Cambodia and Laos, Siam remained permeated with Indian civilisation until the east coast of Indo-China (Annam) accepted Chinese civilisation. There are still extant, noteworthy archaeological witnesses of this primitive *hinduisation* of Siam in the monuments of its former capitals, *Savankhalok*, *Sukhokai* and *Lopburi*. The former and present religions of Siam (*i. e.*, Brahmanism and Buddhism) its sacred language, its civil institutions, its writing, its arts, and its literature, came from India. In the 13th century the *Thai* alphabet, the prototype of the present alphabet was invented by the help of *Brahmin gurus* on the model of the Indian writing already in use in the country. All this civilisation has been preserved and diffused up to the present day by the monks who are, as a rule, the educators of the people....."

FROM THE INDIAN TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN

Leaving aside the as yet obscure problem of pre-Aryan, even pre-Dravidian contact of India with the Mon-khmer and the Malay-Polynesian world, we may still safely say that there were very early maritime communications between the peoples across the Indian Ocean, connecting the African Archipelago including Madagascar with the Malay Archipelago. The island of Ceylon or Taprobane was a sort of a halting stage in his grand oceanic traffic. The very frequent confusion between Indian Malay and African place-names made by classical travellers and geographers is highly significant. It is now beyond doubt that audacious Indian mariners reached Madagascar, Ceylon as well as Sumatra, Java and Borneo in early times. Fa-hien and Gunavarman (400 A. D.) followed only the traditional maritime routes of Indian Oceanic migration. The Malay Peninsula served both as a *great causeway* for the migrations from the Asiatic continent and as a *rendezvous* for merchants and peoples from widely separated countries. In Sumatra the Malayan races were moulded by Indian influences into a comparatively civilised condition before they crossed over to the Peninsula. The oldest foreign loan-words in Malay are *Sanskrit*, including words for religious, moral and intellectual ideas, with some astronomical, mathematical and botanical terms, a court vocabulary and a large number of everyday words. In their pantheon the greater gods are Hindu while the lesser gods are Malay. Their cosmology is also Hindu. Only in one branch, in their arts, both industrial and ornamental, some of the Indonesian peoples, while deriving the ideas and inspiration from India (China did not play a great part here before the T'ang period, 6th century A.D.), could preserve their distinct individuality. Both in the evolution of the architectural and of the decorative motifs, the *Javanese* and the *Khmer* peoples will always occupy a big place in the general history of Asiatic art.

THE EMPIRE OF SRI-VIJAYA IN SUMATRA

So it is not at all surprising to note that the famous Chinese-Buddhist pilgrim *It-Sing* twice visited in 671 and 698 A.D. Sumatra (then known as the kingdom of *Sri-Vijaya*),* studying and translating Indian texts. More than 1,000 monk-savants studied there all the subjects that were taught in Indian centres of learning. In fact this daughter university of Sumatra had already become so important that *Dharmapala*, the celebrated Mahayana professor of the great Nalanda University before the visit of Hiuen-Tsang, went to *Suvarna-dvīpa* (Sumatra) in his old age, most probably as a veteran *Director of Indian Studies*. Between the age of *It-Sing* (700 A. D.) and that of the Mahayana Buddhist king *Adityavarman* of Middle Sumatra 1350 A. D. we have as yet very few records. In the 14th century, Sumatra, under king *Aditya-varman* was still erecting the statue of *Jina Amoghapaśa*, a *Tantric* incarnation of *Avalokiteśvara* in the temple of *Padang Chandi*, with an inscription in barbarous Sanskrit. But already the north of Sumatra had been converted to Islamism which soon overwhelmed the whole of the island.

JAVA MADURA BALI LOMBOK AND BORNEO

Java was from very early times noticed in Indian literature. *Ramayana* describes Java (and probaly also Sumatra, known as the *Suvarna-dvīpa*), as rich in gold mines. *Fa-hien* found it necessary to pay a visit to this island in the early 5th century. Like Sumatra, Java was the stronghold of the Buddhist sect of the *Mūla-Sarvastivādins*. Their scriptures being in Sanskrit was much valued locally, but those texts frequently checked the spontaneous development of Javanese-Buddhist art which remained a little too faithful and rigidly documentary as was noticed by Mon. Foucher in his monograph on the Buddhist temple of Boro-Budur. In the 8th century, Mahayana Buddhism gained a firm footing in Java. In 778 A. D. a king of the *Sailendra Dynasty* of the Sri-Vijaya Kingdom of Sumatra, commemorates the erection of a statue and a temple of *Arya Tara*, sakti of *Avalokiteśvara* by an inscription in *Sanskrit* language and in a north Indian script, not in *Kawi* or old Javanese. Dr. H. Kern, the great Dutch savant, expressed his opinion to the effect that the *Tantric-Mahayanists* came to Java from Western Bengal. The temple of *Arya Tara* is now in ruins known as *Chandi Kalasan*. The splendid monuments of architecture, which appear in Java about the 9th century, bear the impress of Mahayana Buddhism. But the later Javanese art as well as the Javanese literature and inscriptions are largely *Hindu Saiva*. That

* "Coedes : Le Royaume de Sri Vijaya, B. E. F. Ex. O. 1917.

seems to show that a great bulk of the people in the Hindu colonies like Champa, Java and especially in the island of Bali were allowed to practise and profess other cults of Hinduism even when the ruling houses were officially adopting Buddhism. Down to the middle ages, the relation between official Buddhism and non-official popular Hinduism, was marked by perfect tolerance and friendliness which produced a wonderful fusion of religious thought and art-styles.

In the 9th century we witness the *third grand wave* of cultural colonisation mainly from South India. The kingdom of Sri-Vijaya (Sumatra) suddenly becomes a great civilising agency extending its influence over Java as well as a part of South India and its name appears in an inscription of Devapala recently discovered in Nalanda. Impregnated with the spiritual and aesthetic ideals of India, Java now created the wonderful temple of Boro-Budur, a marvel of oriental architecture. Buddhism was a favourite religion with the Javanese sovereigns from king Sree Isanavijaya Dharmotungadeva (950 A.D.) to Tribhuvanottunga Devi, the queen ruling over the whole of Java (1350 A.D.)

INDO-CHINA AND INDONESIA SPIRITUALLY CONNECTED

Other forms of Brahmanical religion, especially Saivism were tolerated and widely practised by a large part of the population of Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok. That is why probably during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries when the *Indonesian art* reached its apogee, we find in Java, the great Prambanam and Panataram temples consecrated to Brahmanical deities like Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, Durga, etc., as well as brilliant stone pictures (bas-reliefs) of the Ramayana and the Krishnayna. So we find in Cambodia, the famous Mon-Khmer monuments, the Saiva temple of Angkor Thom (9th century) and the Vaishnava temple of Bapuon, as well as the marvellous monument of Angkor-Vat (completed 1150 A.D.) dedicated to Vishnu, by the Cambodian king *Parama Vishnuloka*. "These monuments," remarks Mon. Cabaton, "give evidence to this day of cultural and artistic gifts so incompatible with the intellectual apathy of the *Khmers*, that some scholars are inclined to think that the grandeur of the empire was due to a Hindu colony which governed the country (Champa-Cambodge) from the 8th to the 14th century." However, the Sino-Tibetan invasions of the Annamites and the Siamese during the 12th and 13th centuries led to a gradual decadence, and the downfall of the great Hindu colonies of Champa and Cambodge was complete when Islam swept over the whole area like a hurricane.

MALAY-POLYNESIAN WORLD

Leaving aside the question of the reciprocal influence of the Hindu and the Islamic history, we shall note summarily the main features of India's role in the history of South-Eastern Asia. Unlike the thoroughly pacific cultural penetration of India in Serindia, China and Japan, her expansion over South-eastern Asia was not unaccompanied by occasional political conquests or military occupations. However, what India brought as her real contributions to these regions, were not the conquering armies or dynasties long forgotten, but a veritable *fertilising influence* in the domain of intellectual and artistic creation. That is why a veteran philologist like Dr. Skeat found after an elaborate analysis that the oldest loan-words in this linguistic group are 'words for *religious, moral and intellectual* ideas coming from India'. So in the highly interesting monograph on the "Indonesians", Mr. Kruijt notices how the name for *God* in most of the languages of this Malay-Polynesian world, is derived from the Indian word *Devata*: "In Siau the highest god is called *Duata* which is also found among the Macassars and Buginese as *Devata*, among the Dayaks of Borneo as *Jabata Jata*, among the Mongondouians as *Duata*, and among the people of the Philippine islands as *Divata, Davata, Diuata*." So the Sanskrit word *Bhattara* is found in more or less changed forms, in many Indonesian languages in the sense of God, e. g., *Batara guru* who appears with *Saripada* and *Manalabulan* as the three most important deities of the Malay Archipelago, as pointed out by Dr. H. Kern. And what is still more amazing is the recent discovery of Indian influence on the formation of early Polynesian poetry and mythology. Mr. A. H. Keane's remarks in this connection deserve quoting:

"At times the Polynesian singers appear to soar into the ethereal spaces and to realise the concept of a Supreme Being.....Tangaroa is spoken of as Toivi, the Eternal or else like the Hindu *Brahma* or the Dodonian Zeus that 'was is and shall be'..... described in the loftiest language as dwelling 'in the limitless void of space, when the world was not yet, nor the heavens, nor the sea, nor man.' Such sublime conceptions, such subtle theosophies, such personifications of Chaos, Immensity, Gloomy Night and other pure abstractions in these children of nature, excite wonder and remain inexplicable in their pre-ent fragmentary state. Everywhere we find Heaven, Earth, the Universe, the Afterworld, recurring under diverse names and forms, personified by language embodied in theocratic and anthropomorphic philosophies—echoes as it were of the *Vedic hymns* reverberating from isle to isle over the broad Pacific waters. The question arises: *Have there been Vedic contacts?* It is a chronological question which cannot be answered until the date is approximately determined of the eastward migration of the Indonesians from Malaysia. Did the migration precede or follow the arrival of the Hindu missionaries in that region?"

SERVICE AND FELLOWSHIP : KEY-NOTES OF GREATER INDIAN HISTORY

Thus listening to these profound hymns of the Polynesian Vedas amidst the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean, we seem to catch the real secret of India's success in her career of internationalism. In spite of occasional lapses to militarism on the part of individual sovereigns, the *Indian people as a whole, stuck substantially to the principle of Peace and Progress*. They respected the individuality of the races and nations which came into contact with them, offering their best and evoking the best in others. Thus India managed to leave a record of collaboration in the realm of the Sublime and the Beautiful, quite remarkable in world history. The political conquerors and economic exploiters might have been there too ; but they never played a dominant role in this grand drama of Creative Unity. That is why, when the names of the great kings and emperors were forgotten, the people of these cultural colonies cherished with gratitude the memory of the services rendered by the innumerable Indian monks and teachers, artists and philanthropists—selfless workers for human progress and international amity.

This paper was read in connection with a *Symposium* on "The Role of Internationalism in the Development of Civilisation," invited by the Peace Congress of Lugano (Switzerland) in August 1922 which was attended by the master spirits of modern Europe like Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russel, Hermann Hesse and others. I beg to express in this connection my best thanks to my friends of the "International League of Women for Peace and Freedom" for provoking this study and for publishing a *French version* of this monograph in the *Rassegna Internazionale*, (Rome, April 1923),—K. N.

